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ECONOMIC ANALYSIS: PEKING LAUNCHES MAJOR EFFORT TO DEVELOP
INDUSTRY

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. PEKING HAS LAUNCHED A MAJOR EFFORT TO
ALLEVIATE CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS AND SPUR FASTER DEVEL-
OPMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR. THE DRIVE PARALLELS A
SIMILAR MOVEMENT--PUT IN MOTION LAST DECEMBER--IN AGRICUL-

TURE--AND IT NOW APPEARS THAT PEKING IS COUNTING ON THE
TWO CAMPAIGNS TO BUILD A MODERN ECONOMY.

2. PEKING'S ATTEMPT TO MOBILIZE A NATIONWIDE INDUSTRIAL OFFENSIVE BEGAN SHORTLY AFTER THE PURGE OF THE LEFT LAST FALL AND CULMINATED IN THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED TACH'ING INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE. IN RECENT MONTHS THE LEADERSHIP HAS:

(A)--FIRMLY REITERATED ITS COMMITMENT TO THE REALISTIC ECONOMIC POLICIES ASSOCIATED WITH CHOU EN-LAI AND TENG HSIAO-P'ING;

(B)--ESTABLISHED BROAD NATIONAL GOALS AS A FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH SUBNATIONAL UNITS CAN WORK OUT SPECIFIC PLANS AND TARGETS ACCORDING TO LOCAL CONDITIONS;

(C)--PUT FORTH STRIKING PROPOSALS IN THE AREAS OF PETROLEUM DEVELOPMENT AND ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION; AND

(D)--IN A MANNER SIMILAR TO AGRICULTURE'S MANDATE TO LEARN FROM THE MODEL FARMING VILLAGE TACHAI, EXHORTED INDUSTRY TO IMITATE THE HIGHLY PUBLICIZED METHODS OF THE TACH'ING OILFIELD.

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3. WHILE PEKING'S DRIVE TO OVERHAUL INDUSTRY APPARENTLY HAS ALREADY BEGUN TO PAY SOME DIVIDENDS, CHINA'S CHRONIC INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS--MANY OF THEM RELATED TO LABOR MOTIVATION AND INVESTMENT--WILL CONTINUE TO ACT AS A CONSTRAINT ON RAPID DEVELOPMENT AND POSE DIFFICULT CHOICES FOR THE LEADERSHIP. END SUMMARY.

4. BEGIN TEXT. SINCE ASSUMING POWER LAST FALL, THE HUA KUO-FENG REGIME HAS PLACED AMONG ITS HIGHEST PRIORITIES THE RESTORATION AND RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF BASIC INDUSTRY--A CLEAR INDICATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE REGIME'S OVERALL MODERNIZATION PLAN. MORE THAN THAT, HOWEVER, ITS DESIGNATION AS A PRIORITY MANIFESTS PEKING'S RECOGNITION OF THE NEED TO STRAIGHTEN OUT CHINA'S ECONOMIC DISARRAY, IN PART THE RESULT OF LAST YEAR'S SECTACULAR AND DEVASTATING EARTHQUAKES, AND IN PART THE RESULT OF:

(A)--FACTIONAL STRIFE THAT HAS CONTRIBUTED TO LABOR RESTIVENESS AND CADRE DEMORALIZATION AND SLOWED OR EVEN HALTED PRODUCTION IN KEY PLANTS AND INDUSTRIES;

(B)--UNEVEN INVESTMENT PATTERNS THAT HAVE PRODUCED MAJOR SECTORAL AND SECTIONAL IMBALANCES;

(C)--TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS THAT HAVE HAMPERED EFFICIENT DISTRIBUTION INTERNALLY AND IMPOSED LIMITATIONS ON

FOREIGN TRADE; AND

(D)--IDEOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS ON EDUCATION THAT HAVE
RETARDED THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

5. LAST YEAR THESE PROBLEMS, EXACERBATED BY A SERIES OF
LEADERSHIP CRISES, PRODUCED AN ECONOMIC DOWNTURN UNMATCHED
SINCE THE AFTERMATH OF THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD (1958-60).
OVERALL, THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT GREW BY ONLY HALF OF
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THE AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE OF INCREASE FOR THE PREVIOUS
DECADE. GROWTH RATES SLOWED IN ALL MAJOR INDUSTRIES; SOME
INDUSTRIES, SUCH AS STEEL, SUFFERED ACTUAL PRODUCTION
DECLINES. REDUCED EFFICIENCY AND OUTPUT LEVELS FORCED
MANY ENTERPRISES TO BORROW LARGE SUMS TO COVER OPERATING
EXPENSES.

6. IN NOVEMBER, PEKING BEGAN RESPONDING IN EARNEST TO
SOME OF THE MOST PRESSING PROBLEMS BY:

(A)--ORDERING AN IMMEDIATE FREEZE ON ALL "NON-ESSENTIAL"
EXPENDITURES;

(B)--PLACING PLA TROOPS IN FACTORIES AND RAILROADS TO
QUELL DISTURBANCES AND RESTORE PRODUCTION; AND

(C)--CONVENING A SERIES OF HIGH-LEVEL CONFERENCES TO DEAL
WITH THE PROBLEMS OF INDIVIDUAL INDUSTRIES MOST
SEVERELY AFFECTED BY PRODUCTION PROBLEMS AND LEFTIST
INTERFERENCE--AMONG THEM: COAL, STEEL, RAIL TRANS-
PORT, AND PETROLEUM.

7. TACH'ING CONFERENCE:

8. THE REGIME'S CONTINUED EFFORTS TO MOBILIZE A NATIONWIDE
INDUSTRIAL OFFENSIVE CULMINATED IN A MONTH-LONG, ALL-
INDUSTRY CONFERENCE WHICH CONCLUDED IN MID-MAY. BILLED AS
THE LARGEST OF ITS KIND EVER HELD IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA, THE TACH'ING CONFERENCE FEATURED AN ALMOST
COMPLETE LEADERSHIP TURNOUT, INDICATING A BASIC CONSENSUS
ON BROAD ECONOMIC PRIORITIES.

9. IN PARALLEL TO THE TACHAI AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE OF
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LAST DECEMBER, THE TACH'ING CONFERENCE:

(A)--OUTLINED THE REGIME'S STRATEGY FOR RAPID, BUT BAL-
ANCED, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT;

(B)--SERVED PRIMARILY AS A FORUM FOR REITERATING BROAD POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES, RATHER THAN FOR ARTICULATING SPECIFIC, DETAILED PLANS (WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS); AND

(C)--CALLED FOR EMULATION OF A PREMIER PRODUCTION MODEL--THE TACH'ING OILFIELD--AS THE BASIS FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT. (NOTE: THE TACH'ING OILFIELD, CHINA'S NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL MODEL, WAS THE CENTERPIECE OF PEKING'S EFFORTS TO STAVE OFF A POTENTIALLY SERIOUS OIL SHORTAGE IN THE EARLY 1960S IN THE WAKE OF SOVIET AID WITHDRAWAL AND A PARTIAL TRADE EMBARGO. THE OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF TACH'ING'S DEVELOPMENT HAS FOCUSED ON THE WORKERS' ALLEGED SELF-RELIANCE, HARD WORK, AND APPLICATION OF MAOIST PRINCIPLES.)

10. SPEECHES AT THE TACH'ING CONFERENCE MADE CLEAR THAT PEKING WILL CONTINUE TO EMPLOY A MIXTURE OF MAOIST IDEOLOGY AND PRAGMATIC ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES TO GUIDE AND RATIONALIZE OVERALL ECONOMIC POLICIES. WHILE REPEATING CHINA'S STANDARD ORDER OF DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES--AGRICULTURE, LIGHT INDUSTRY, HEAVY INDUSTRY--THE CONFERENCE NEVERTHELESS DEPICTED THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF HEAVY INDUSTRY AS VITAL NOT ONLY TO CHINA'S PROSPERITY BUT TO ITS NATIONAL SECURITY AS WELL. DEFENSE MINISTER YEH CHIEN-YING, IN A MAJOR SPEECH, STATED CATEGORICALLY THAT ONLY BROAD-BASED INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE BOTH ADEQUATE FOOD SUPPLIES AND A STRONG DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT.

11. THE CONFERENCE APPEARS TO HAVE MARKED THE OFFICIAL STARTING POINT OF AN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CAMPAIGN THAT MAY EXTEND WELL INTO THE NEXT DECADE. THE DETAILS OF HOW CONFIDENTIAL

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THE CAMPAIGN WILL PROCEED REMAIN SOMEWHAT VAGUE, PERHAPS NECESSARILY SO IN VIEW OF THE COMPLEXITY AND DIVERSITY OF PROBLEMS IN CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL SECTOR. PRESUMABLY, PLANS FOR REACHING SPECIFIC GOALS WILL BE WORKED OUT BY PROVINCIAL AND OTHER SUBNATIONAL ENTITIES ACCORDING TO LOCAL REQUIREMENTS AND CONDITIONS.

12. NEVERTHELESS, SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS CAN BE DRAWN FROM THE AVAILABLE INFORMATION.

13. STRONGER MANAGEMENT:

14. IT IS APPARENT THAT A STRONG MOVEMENT IS UNDER WAY TO REORGANIZE ENTERPRISES IN A MANNER THAT WILL STRENGTHEN MANAGEMENT AND PROMOTE MORE EFFICIENT PRODUCTION. ALL ENTERPRISES HAVE BEEN CALLED UPON TO CONCENTRATE ON:

(A)--ENFORCING STRICT LABOR DISCIPLINE AND PROMOTING

A GREATER SENSE OF INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY
AND ACCOUNTABILITY;

(B)--INCREASING BOTH THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF OUTPUT
WHILE REDUCING PRODUCTION COSTS AND ELIMINATING WASTE;

(C)--IMPROVING THE EXPERTISE AND TECHNICAL CAPABILITIES OF
WORKERS AND CADRE;

(D)--REDUCING THE NUMBER OF NONPRODUCTIVE PERSONNEL AND
ACTIVITIES; AND

(E)--STRENGTHENING ACCOUNTING, PLANNING, AND ADMINISTRA-
TIVE PROCEDURES.

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15. BASIC INDUSTRIES--ESPECIALLY FUELS, ENERGY, AND METALS
AND MINERALS--HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO PAY PARTICULAR ATTEN-
TION TO THESE GUIDELINES.

16. TACH'ING ENTERPRISES:

17. THE REGIME HAS ISSUED A BROAD CALL FOR CONVERSION OF
ONE-THIRD OF CHINA'S STATE-RUN ENTERPRISES INTO "TACH'ING-
TYPE ENTERPRISES" BY 1980. THIS AGAIN IS A CLEAR PARALLEL
TO AGRICULTURE'S GOAL OF CONVERTING A SIMILAR PROPORTION
OF COUNTIES INTO "TACHAI" COUNTIES BY THE SAME DATE. AS
WITH THE TACHAI PROGRAM, HOWEVER, THIS GOAL AND THE MANNER
IN WHICH IT WOULD BE REACHED HAVE NOT BEEN PRECISELY
DEFINED IN PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS.

18. IT IS APPARENT, HOWEVER, THAT ACHIEVEMENT OF "TACH'ING
STATUS" WILL DEPEND HEAVILY ON INCREASING PRODUCTION. ALL
ENTERPRISES HAVE BEEN URGED TO MEET OR SURPASS THE CURRENT
OUTPUT TARGETS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE INDUSTRIES' PACESETTERS.

19. STRESS ON OIL:

20. CHAIRMAN HUA AND OTHER TOP LEADERS HAVE GIVEN MAJOR
STRESS TO ACCELERATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA'S PETROLE-
UM. PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS MINISTER K'ANG SHIH-EN PRE-
SENTED A PLAN AT THE TACH'ING CONFERENCE TO STEP UP
DEVELOPMENT OF THE OIL INDUSTRY WITH A VIEW TO SURPASSING
THE PRODUCTION LEVELS OF THE "MOST ADVANCED NATIONS" BY
THE END OF THE CENTURY. SPECIFICALLY, K'ANG STATED THAT
CHINA SHOULD DEVELOP 10 MAJOR OIL FIELDS "THE SIZE OF
TACH'ING" DURING THAT TIME. HE DREW PARTICULAR ATTENTION
TO THE NEED FOR MORE AGGRESSIVE EXPLORATION AND EXPLOITA-
TION OF ALL OFFSHORE AREAS.

21. WHILE MUCH OF THE ANTICIPATED INCREASE IN OIL PRODUC-

TION WILL BE USED TO SATISFY A RISING DOMESTIC DEMAND, A
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SIGNIFICANT PORTION MAY BE TARGETED FOR EXPORT. TRADE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE JAPANESE EARLIER THIS YEAR FOCUSED ON THE POSSIBILITY--UNDER A LONG-TERM AGREEMENT--OF STEPPING UP CHINA'S OIL SALES TO JAPAN AND, IN RETURN, INCREASING IMPORTS OF STEEL, MACHINERY, AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY FROM JAPAN.

22. REVIVAL OF ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS?

23. PEKING MAY ALSO BE CONTEMPLATING A MAJOR STRUCTURAL REORGANIZATION UNDER WHICH CHINA'S 29 PROVINCES WOULD BE GROUPED INTO 6 MAJOR ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS. YU CH'U-LI HINTED THAT SUCH A REORGANIZATION MIGHT BE IN THE OFFING BUT DID NOT INDICATE WHEN, OR UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES; NOR DID HE ELABORATE ON HOW THE REGIONS WOULD FUNCTION.

24. THE REGIONAL IDEA IS NOT NEW. ORIGINALLY, REGIONS WERE PART OF CHINA'S POST-LIBERATION ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE BUT WERE ABOLISHED IN 1954 WHEN LEADERS OF POWERFUL REGIONAL BUREAUS POSED A CHALLENGE TO PEKING'S AUTHORITY. THE REGIONS WERE RESURRECTED IN THE EARLY 1960S UNDER LIU SHAO-CH'I. LIU'S APPARENT INTENT WAS TO REVERSE SOME OF THE DECENTRALIZATION OF ECONOMIC PLANNING AND AUTHORITY WHICH HAD BEEN INITIATED BY MAO PRIOR TO THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD, AS A MEANS OF STIMULATING ECONOMIC RECOVERY FOLLOWING THE GREAT LEAP'S FAILURE. THE REGIONS WERE ABOLISHED AGAIN IN THE MID-1960S DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION.

25. REVIVAL OF THE REGIONS NOW WOULD REFLECT PEKING'S EVIDENT DESIRE TO ASSERT GREATER CENTRAL CONTROL OVER NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. PARADOXICALLY, HOWEVER, IT WOULD AGAIN POSE THE LONG-TERM RISK OF ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENT OF POWERFUL REGIONAL BASES THAT COULD THREATEN OR IGNORE
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PEKING'S AUTHORITY.

26. GAPS IN THE PROGRAM: LABOR INCENTIVES:

27. CHINA'S LABOR FORCE HAS NOT ENJOYED A SIZABLE WAGE INCREASE IN YEARS DESPITE INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY AND EVIDENCE OF RISING COSTS. THIS SITUATION UNDOUBTEDLY HAS FUELED MUCH OF LABOR'S RESTIVENESS OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS, MANIFESTED IN WORK SLOWDOWNS AND ACTS OF SABOTAGE.

28. DESPITE THE POTENTIAL FOR CONTINUED LABOR DISSATISFACTION, PEKING HAS YET TO ARTICULATE PUBLICLY A POLICY OF

INCREASED WAGES OR OTHER FORMS OF MATERIAL INCENTIVES.

PLANNING MINISTER YU CH'IU-LI DID SAY THAT PEKING WOULD CONVENE A WAGE ADJUSTMENT CONFERENCE, AT AN UNSPECIFIED DATE, BUT THE APPARENT DELAY IN CONFRONTING SUCH ISSUES REINFORCES THE VIEW THAT THEY CONTINUE TO PRESENT SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES FOR THE LEADERSHIP.

29. THE MAJOR ISSUE BEARING ON THE REGIME'S HANDLING OF WAGE REFORMS APPEARS TO BE AN ACKNOWLEDGED CRITICAL SHORT-AGE OF STATE FUNDS. THIS MAKES CONSIDERATION OF ANY TRULY SIGNIFICANT WAGE INCREASE VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE REGIME SAVE AT THE EXPENSE OF NEEDED INVESTMENT, OR AT THE RISK OF INFLATION--A CONDITION THE PRC HAS SOUGHT TO AVOID AT ALL COSTS. IN ADDITION, A WAGE INCREASE WOULD PRESENT THE REGIME WITH THE PROBLEM OF SATISFYING A GREATER DEMAND--INDUCED BY HIGHER TAKE-HOME PAY--FOR BETTER FOOD AND OTHER CONSUMER GOODS.

30. GIVEN THE APPARENT CONSTRAINTS ON PROVIDING SIGNIFICANT, ACROSS-THE-BOARD WAGE INCREASES IN THE NEAR FUTURE, PEKING MAY RESORT TO SOME COMBINATION OF IDEOLOGICAL AND MATERIAL INCENTIVES TO ACHIEVE AND SUSTAIN HIGHER LABOR PRODUCTIVITY. ALTHOUGH YU CRITICIZED THE USE OF MATERIAL CONFIDENTIAL

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INCENTIVES IN HIS SPEECH AT THE TACH'ING CONFERENCE, THERE HAVE BEEN RECENT INDICATIONS THAT PRODUCTIVITY BONUSES HAVE BEEN REINTRODUCED ON AN EXPERIMENTAL BASIS IN SELECTED FACTORIES. NEVERTHELESS, WHILE A WIDER USE OF PRODUCTION BONUSES MIGHT AMELIORATE SOMEWHAT THE PROBLEM OF LABOR MOTIVATION, THIS PRACTICE WAS TARRED WITH AN "ANTI-SOCIALISM" BRUSH DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND MAY STILL CARRY POLITICAL RISK FOR INCAUTIOUS ADVOCATES.

31. ANOTHER GAP: STATE INVESTMENT:

32. AMONG THE MOST SERIOUS CONSTRAINTS ON CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IS THE RELATIVE IMBALANCE BETWEEN VARIOUS INDUSTRIAL SECTORS--PARTICULARLY COAL, STEEL, AND TRANSPORT--AND ALSO GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS. CONTRIBUTING TO THE PROBLEM HAS BEEN THE AFOREMENTIONED CHRONIC SHORTAGE OF STATE FUNDS, COUPLED WITH TRADITIONAL STATE INVESTMENT PATTERNS THAT HAVE TENDED TO EXAGGERATE RATHER THAN LESSEN IMBALANCES. THE RESULTING BOTTLENECKS HAVE HAMPERED INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND LIMITED OVERALL ECONOMIC GROWTH.

33. TO OVERCOME THE PROBLEM, PEKING WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO INCREASE STATE SPENDING AND MAKE MAJOR ADJUSTMENTS IN THE PATTERN OF ITS INVESTMENT. AS YET, HOWEVER, THE REGIME HAS GIVEN NO CLUE AS TO HOW IT ULTIMATELY WILL RESPOND. FOR THE PRESENT, AT LEAST, PEKING APPARENTLY INTENDS TO CON-

TINUE ITS MINIMAL LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT. THUS THE TACH'ING

CONFERENCE STRESSED THE NEED TO INCREASE ENTERPRISE PROFITS BY MAKING MORE EFFICIENT USE OF EXISTING EQUIPMENT AND LOCAL RESOURCES TO RAISE OUTPUT AND PRODUCTIVITY. IN EFFECT, PEKING HAS LEFT IT TO ENTERPRISES TO GENERATE THEIR OWN INVESTMENT FUNDS.

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34. IN THE LONGER RUN, THE REGIME MAY BE HOPING THAT THIS STRATEGY WILL ALSO INCREASE STATE REVENUES AND EVENTUALLY ENHANCE THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO HELP ALLEVIATE KEY INDUSTRIAL BOTTLENECKS THROUGH INCREASED INVESTMENT BY PEKING OR--IF REVIVED--BY THE SIX MAJOR ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS. END TEXT. VANCE

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